1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu''suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The Soul—Spooks

775 The souls of the dead go south (Jack, Dave). But according to some Washo
[787] they remain near the living and listen to them. Some people dream of the dead, who appear as in life. Such a dreamer would report, "I saw So-and-so in a dream and talked with him." Whirlwinds are identified with the dead coming
[821] by; all the dead travel. When a person goes to sleep by himself and hears some noise striking the house, it is the ghost of a dead man; it makes a crack in the house and looks at the inmate. This was the belief of an old man, shared by some Washo and rejected by others. Dave, who quoted it, commented as follows: "He tells right, by God. I think he's right a little bit: dead people don't go anywhere, they stay right here. . . . If there were any people alive in Heaven, maybe they'd make a rope and come down, but no one does that."

[551] A dead person's name should not be uttered. Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: "He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!"

787 Some Indians see ghosts at night, that is, they see a good dress without a face and
775 are frightened. Once, of a night, Jack's son, when about two miles from Reno, thought
539 he heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw women sitting on the ground, and asked why they were not joining in the dance. They did not answer. Then he inquired for the owner of a horse standing there. Still there was no answer. Then he struck a match, and the women were gone. He went up to pet the horse, and it was no longer there. Then he got frightened and quickly went to an Indian house.

Once, in the old days, a Washo saw a strange figure hanging on the limb of a big tree struck by lightning. The apparition was thin to the bone, curly-haired, with big eyes
[763] and black face, wings, and legs with little feet, but no arms. The Indian went home. That night he began to tremble; after another day and a half he died. Then the other Indians were all afraid and did not want to look at that thing any more.

● 776 A species of evil water-beings was called metsuy'e'. The Washo were afraid to meet them. Once, when walking in the sand around Lake Tahoe, Dave saw the tracks of one. These beings would travel about a little, always along the shore, at night, then go back into the Lake again. They made the sound of babies at night; the Indians would hear them. They live in a house under the water, possibly twenty feet below the surface. Men and women both live there. They do not like Indians; the Washo avoid them and never dream of them. A Washo would be terrified, paralyzed "a little bit," bleed from the nose, and fall sick if he saw one of these beings. Judging from their tracks, their feet are only the length of a little baby's.

776 Once, a Washo was fishing in the Lake with a line and reel, when the line got caught
539 at the bottom. He thought it was a snake, but it was a metsuy'e' pulling the line down. He was pretty strong. After a while he let go, and the line got slack. There was a tuft of hair on the point of the hook. The Indian was paralyzed and fell down unconscious in his boat for possibly an hour. There was no wind. At last he woke up terrified and made for home. He cut off the hook and line with the hair, and threw them back into the water. He told his wife and children about his experience. For a week after that the fish would not bite. All the Washo were afraid. About half a mile from shore there is a spring; that is where these water-beings probably come from. Their hair reaches down to the knee.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Once, an old Indian was walking along a trail by himself when he saw two persons coming toward him—a woman with a basket, and an old man with bow and arrow and carrying a blanket on his back. The Washo sat down under a piñon tree and was wondering who they were. He thought they would reach him soon, but they did not arrive at all. "It was the Devil." Soon the old man got paralyzed. After a while he rose and went on. He said to himself, "Well, I think these are not people. I am going [to die] soon, he has taken my life away. That is the kind my father used to tell me about, and now I have seen it. I don't know whether these are dead people or what." The old man bled from the nose. He said, "Don't take my life away, leave me alone. I do not want to be like you. I want to live as long as I can." Soon he went to a spring, bathed, and recovered.

Sometimes [Dave has heard] Washo Indians would see tracks in the snow showing feet as long as a man's entire arm. They would get frightened and would not follow the tracks.

Once, Dave was staying alone in a house at Tahoe City on Lake Tahoe. He was dreaming about something and felt a heavy weight, like a hundred pounds, on him. He tried to remove his blanket, and finally he succeeded in getting into the open. Another Indian and his wife had a similar experience in the same house. Dave thinks it might be caused by the ghosts of white people who used to live there. He could not see anything, he merely had the sensation of being held down.

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Somewhere two Indians were sleeping in a room in some old house. It was a cold night. Soon they heard a knock at the door. They were awake, opened the door, but no one was to be seen. They went out and around the house, but saw nothing. Possibly dead people were doing it. Soon there was a noise inside of somebody walking around. They could not see anything. They warned other people against ever sleeping inside that house.

Two Indians were going up a mountain with bows and arrows to shoot woodchuck. They met half a dozen dead people who looked as though alive and were hunting with bow and arrow. They were cooking squirrels and other food, sat around their fire at noon, and, because they were dead, would not answer the Indians' questions. They just ate the squirrels, but drank no water. When the Indians spoke, no one of the other group answered or looked at them. One of the Indians, who was old, said, "You dare not come over and talk to us; we belong on the mountains." Still there was no answer. The speaker returned to his companion and said, "Well, we can't do anything with them. They just eat the squirrels they kill." Both hunters were alarmed and quickly went away. It was dark on their return and they lost their way, not finding the trail at first. When they got home the next day, they said nothing.

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The Washo were too close to the Paviotso to escape contact with Wovoka's gospel, but reacted with individual differences to it. Jack, for example, was skeptical and contrasted the alien conception unfavorably with the old Washo belief that souls go south to join the Father of the Indians. The Paviotso say that after a while the souls return. "They dance and the souls come back." A recent (1926) Washo doctor, in the manner of Wovoka, alleged to have visited the dead, reporting he had seen plenty of Indians in the land of spirits, with green grass everywhere, also fire (!). The dead would say to him, "Well, what have you come here for? You have not died; go back. When a man or woman dies, he stays here. Do not come back any more." Jack has no faith in this; old-time doctors never reported visits to the dead. According to one informant, Wovoka prophesied a big storm but it did not come true, and his own Walker River people were going to kill him as a false prophet, so he stopped.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'cea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke's! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'l'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star ?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

[P.366, A]

MYTHOLOGY

773 [114] Washo mythology has been presented in the form of interlinear texts by Dangberg (1927) and in Lowie's Ethnographic Notes (1939, pp. 233-251). There are two versions of the creation myth, one describing the creation of Paiute, Washo, and Diggers from the seeds of the catteil by the Creator Woman, and the second attributing the creation of Indians to the Creation Man, who formed the three groups from among his sons to keep them from quarreling. Lowie also reports the common theme of several previous inhabitations of the earth. The most important myth, or at least the one which is still commonly told and seems to be the favorite among the Washo, devotes itself to the adventures of Damalali (short-tailed weasel) and Pewetseli (long-tailed weasel). These heroes are responsible for many of the natural features of the region so references to this myth are rather frequent. The Coyote, in the form of a rather malevolent and stupid trickster, and the Wolf, a generally patriarchal and protective figure, appear in several myths, as do cannibalistic giants and a giant bird, the ng.

Figures which appear only incidentally in the myths as recounted are elaborated almost infinitely in what might best be termed folk fantasy.

WATER BABIES

773 776 Most prominent of these figures are the Water Babies (Stewart 1941, p. 444, 2574). In the mythology, Water Baby figures as the creature responsible for the many lakes of the eastern Sierra. Killed and scalped by the rascally Damalali, Water Baby commands the waters of the area to rise until the weasel returns the scalp to avoid drowning. The waters left in mountain valleys as the flood receded formed the lakes.

● 776 The Water Baby is not confined to mythology. My informants were able to describe the appearance of a Water Baby in detail, to supply me with population figures, and to recount an almost endless series of incidents in which Water Babies were involved.

All informants agreed that the Water Baby is a creature about one and one-half feet tall, gray in color, with extremely long black hair which never touches the ground but which floats along behind the Water Babies when they walk. In general, these creatures look like small humans. However, they are hoseless, cold to the touch, and damp.

Between two and three thousand Water Babies live in the Sierra, according to one informant. They inhabit lakes, streams, marshes, ponds, springs, and irrigation ditches. They speak a language of their own but are always able to speak Washo. With a single exception, every Washo of middle age and over to whom I talked claimed to have at least heard Water Babies calling from some body of water in the night. Several others claimed to have seen Water Baby footprints [177] (one even reporting that the footprints he had seen were those of a female because the tracks were clearly those of high heeled shoes!). One informant steadfastly claimed to have seen a Water Baby, at least fleetingly, in 1956.

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

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Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

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This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

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This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies, they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[1] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyo) -from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him--then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

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[1] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work on kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

[P. 367, A]

776 ever, general agreement among informants that the
756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[1]

The various powers and activities of the Water Babies are perhaps best described in the following stories recounted by informants:

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1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a basket to the Water Babies at Lake Ísmodel. There [782] is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed [755] to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. [778] There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave bas- [782] kets there [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another folla like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

3. "There is this women called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt those little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here [indicating his genitalia]. I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making its patronage known.

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5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa. He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

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[1] Kluckhohn reports that the payment for passing a canon of Navaho witchcraft is often the life of a relative (1947, p. 126).

[P. 367, B]

776 787 539 Water Babies lived in a big house made out of that black shining rock [obsidian]. But they didn't go there. The Water Baby said 'we got some girls that want to give you something,' and he took my uncle to a place and there was five girls there. They all sat around my uncle and sang him a song and told him that it was his song from now on. Then the Water Baby took my uncle back and then he said it was like waking up from a dream and there he was laying in the creek down under a bunch of cattails."[1]

776 539 6. "There was this white man up here fishing. He caught a Water Baby but he didn't know what it was. He thought it was some kind of fish and took it to San Francisco and they put it that place where they have a lotta fish [aquarium]. Captain Jim went all the way down there to tell the mayor that they had better let that Water Baby loose, but nobody would pay no attention to him. Well you know they had a big earthquake down there and the water came up around everything. When it was all over that tank where they had the Water Baby was empty."

THE GIANTS

773 776 Washo mythology features several creatures which may each have contributed to the wild men I will describe in this section. Both Lowie and Dangberg report myths in which a giant, Hangawuiwui, is the principal figure. Although the myths do not describe him, my informants generally picture him as a colossus who hops on a single leg from the top of one mountain to another. He has a single eye to match his single limb and a proclivity for gobbling up Indians. Several miles southwest of Gardnerville, in the hills overlooking Double Spring Flats, a cave is known by the Washo as Hangawuiwui aq'i (the place where Hangawuiwui lives). Present-day Indians tell a number of stories about this giant and display a certain uneasiness when they are near places he is supposed to haunt.

Another kind of giant appears in a myth reported by Lowie. These beings appear to be considerably more human than Hangawuiwui. Traditionally they camped south of Pyramid Lake and terrorized the Paiutes. However, when one of their number attempted to take fish from a Washo the tribe rallied and routed the giants in a battle near Walker Lake. The giants did not have bows and arrows. They fortified themselves behind rock walls and threw stones.

According to my informant on the subject, the mountains are still the home of a tribe of "wild men." These people have managed to hide the location of their camps so that no one knows where they live. My informant felt that they were in fact some kind of Indian. Despite the mythological ability of the Washo to defeat the giants, modern stories about them suggest they have a great deal of supernatural power in addition to their physical prowess.

539 The following stories were told to me as contemporary or relatively recent occurrences:

1. "There is these wild fellas up in the mountains. I guess you call them giants. One time there was an old man who had set up a blind to hunt chip-

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[1] This story very closely parallels one recorded by James Hatch among the Tolowa. Humboldt Anthropological Society Papers, No. 18, Fall, 1958.

[P.368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a semimystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

[795] [787] [521] 539 [115] [756]

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Aŋ, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there aŋ bird's skeleton?"

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773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 [782] [182] [121] Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

764 [P.378, B] When the husband of one
of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
178 house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two
sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their
father's possessions. In deference to their mother's
rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been
placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about
forty put the torch to the house in which his mother
and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied
since their deaths. While the house burned no effort
was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire
department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and sum-
moned the fire department, but the Indians refused to
tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local
newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the men
sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were help-
[821] ing God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain
or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the de-
ceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this
ritual had been carried out.

The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern
775 for most Washo (2606-2606a). Ideally, the spirit is
supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians
are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of
men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
[787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return
it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water
of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never
be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my inform-
ant once visited the land of the dead and reported that
there were lots of Indians there playing games and
having a good time. If murder victims were present
they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the
killers were segregated and were not having a good
time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are
generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly
used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when
[782] buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[55] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was
extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and,
when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the diffi-
[648] culties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[551] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
[821] ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

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ETHNOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ty	Li	Ed	Ha	Ty	Ha	Ma	Ar	Ha	Ag	Wa	Li	Ind
2529.	Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2530.	Blows water from mouth	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2531.	Doctor presses saliva on patient	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
2532.	Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2533.	Doctor touches patient with stick	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2533a.	Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2534.	Doctor touches patient with fire drill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2535.	Doctor handles fire	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2536. Places hands in fire	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2537. Picks up fire	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2538. Stands in fire	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2540.	Sleight-of-hand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1041.	Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
	2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
	2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Special Powers of Shamans													
2545.	Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
	1547. Dream of hazzard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2549a. By tying with horsehair	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2550. By sucking out snake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2551.	Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2552. Power from dream of sleeping bats	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2553.	Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2553a. Last Willows only weather-control shamans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2557.	Childbirth shaman: male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2557a. Female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2558.	Bear shaman: impersonates bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2559. Transforms self into bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2560. Power of rapid travel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2561. Invulnerable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2562.	Poisoners distinct from doctors	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2562a. Poisoners called stumpsharei	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2563. Power from coyote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2564. Power from various animals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2566.	Power to foretell future	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
	Miscellaneous													
2567.	Shaman may decline case	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2568. Killed for declining	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2569.	Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2570a.	How doctor assists old ones	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2571.	How doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2572. By free doctoring	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2574.	Prepare to personal power (guardian spirit) (Ijumaitas)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2575. To nature	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2577.	Offerings to "nature"	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
	2579. To ghost (tsaava)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRICT: CITY--STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	Ki	Ac	Ko	Ya	Yo	Ya	Ch	Ma	Ye	Mo	Ki	Ch
2575. To spirit (cowpe)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2581. Offerings at food	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2586. Offerings at seeds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2587. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2588. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Guardian Spirits

2589. Source: childhood dreams	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2590. Adult dreams	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2591. Various powers received from spirits	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

Supernaturally Feeling

2594. Special herb doctors	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2595. Blood-letting	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2596. Hunting	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

Destiny of Soul

2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2598. Spirit travels south and up	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (suiga)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-

Ghosts or Souls (Insects or angels)

2600. Ghost leaves body at death	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2602. Ghost visible to anyone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2602a. To doctor only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2604. Ghost feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2605. Ghost is whirlwind (pitowawa)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2607. Call both to nullify	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2608. Prayer to nullify	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2609a. Specularite (pedagi) sprinkled to nullify	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-

"Magic" (novelty /improvement)

2610. Properties and name known	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-

[WORK]

2614. Circle Dance (engage)

	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

2615. Brush corral	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2617. At fall pine-nut harvest	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2618. In spring	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2619. In summer	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
2621. To make seeds grow	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Washo NT20
Achumawi A55

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORD

	Ve	KI	KS	Ka	Ts	Ts	Ma	Ar	Sa	Yg	Mo	Li	Ad
Whirlwind (situation)													
2729. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens													
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2732. You will carry a deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
2732b. You will carry blanket because cold	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2733a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Guessing: someone talking about you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2738. Crow call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2739. Dove call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2740. Meadowlark call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2740a. Coyote call	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2296a-2301)													
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
2741a. Finger rots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2743. Gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Petroglyphs													
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
2745. Informants had only heard of them	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2748. "Devil"	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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